The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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SUFFRAGE A MOVEMENT OF ABNORMALITIES—NOT AVERAGES

SOME AMERICAN MILITANTS AT HOME AND ABROAD

PHILANTHROPIST WOULD DIVORCE HIS WORK FROM POLITICS

A SUMMARY OF ILLINOIS' VOTE

TARANTISM—A SUFFRAGE DISEASE

CONFUSING OF LICENSE AND FREEDOM

ACTIVITIES OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

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'Twas the Night Before Suffrage Came Up in the House

By "S. W."

I

'Twas the night before suffrage came up in "the House,"
Not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse;
And I, to secure my seat 'gainst mishap,
In the gallery sat, settling back for a nap;
When down on the floor there arose such a clatter,
I leaned o'er the rail to see what was the matter,
And what to my wondering eyes should appear
But "the House" full of ghosts in an argument queer.
So stately their forms and so noble each face
That never a hall such a gathering did grace;
And listening spellbound I gazed down aghast,
On Virginia's great statesmen and patriots past!
"Woman's Rights!" Monroe thundered, "The hour is at hand
To unshackle the fetters of this patient band;
They've been trampled upon—yes, reduced to subjection—
By man toiling for their support and protection."
"Well said," Washington chuckled, "they're equal, so then
Woman's place is, of course, side by side with the men;
Why think you"—his voice rose, resounding for blocks—
"I desired my wife at home darning my socks?
Nay. I wanted my Martha in uniform there
On that night I was crossing the dark Delaware!
Why think how Cornwallis would have fled with loud groans,
Had he met the brave cohorts of Rosalie Jones!"

II

"But they've failed with their own servant problem, so then
Why should women cry out to solve problems of men?"
"And the children"—John Marshall had barely begun
When quick to his feet sprang old Tom Jefferson—
"Wouldst destroy the wives' chances to rule o'er the nation
Just because 'twould result in a depopulation?
Nay! all free and equal! Nor let one bemoan
Her career has been wrecked by a sick child at home!"
"Yes, Marshall," quoth Henry, "you're quite out of date,
The world is progressing. Join us, e'er too late,
To support woman's suffrage, abolish tradition,
Ring the death-knell of Chivalry"—"And Hurrah! for Perdition,"
Rang the silvery voice of John Randolph, of Roanoke,
But he broke off in shame as he saw who next spoke.

III

A hush of deep reverence fell o'er the place;
An expression of homage was writ on each face.
Who is this, to whom every great man would bend knee?
'Tis thou—Greatest Hero!—our Robert E. Lee!
"Sirs, I may be old-fashioned, yet I challenge a place
For the olden time modesty, beauty and grace.
Though our mothers and wives, who the vote did not crave,
Sat enthroned in our homes, none the less were they brave!
None the less did their courage drive out our despair!
None the less were they wise, because pinnacled there!
Lawmakers, to-morrow, re-echo my plea;
Southern Women! The Inspirers of men such as we."

IV

Sudden panic appeared on each face—and then, hark!
Did I hear a hen-crow warn the flight of the dark?
And the ghosts did they vanish with daylight's first beam?
Or was it all a Mid-Winter Night's Dream?

—*Exchange.*

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE and Miss Minnie Bronson spent two weeks of February in the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Nebraska, at the invitation of groups of women who were anxious to organize an active opposition to woman suffrage. Large public meetings were held in Milwaukee, Madison, St. Paul and Omaha. Organization committees were formed in Milwaukee, the Madison Branch in Wisconsin, which has been in existence for two years, was strengthened; an organization committee was formed in St. Paul and a large one in Minneapolis, which is already beginning work. In Nebraska the fifty thousand men's signatures necessary to send the question of woman suffrage as a referendum to the voters of the state in November had been obtained, and both the men and women in Omaha were ready and eager to form an organization opposed to woman suffrage. Nebraska makes the fifth state in which the people will vote on the question of women suffrage in the autumn, the other four being Nevada, Montana, North and South Dakota.

The Congressional Committee of the National Suffrage Association, in spite of the adverse vote in the Democratic caucus of the House of Representatives on the question of Federal interference on the subject of woman suffrage, requested a hearing before the Judiciary Committee, apparently for the purpose of publicity, as the hearing would probably be without results. The Chairman, on request, granted a hearing on the afternoon of the same day to the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President, presided, and the speakers were Miss Alice Hill Chittenden of New York, Mrs. O. D. Oliphant of New Jersey, Mrs. Henry P. White of Massachusetts, Miss Marjorie Dorman, Secretary of the Wage Earner's League of New York State; Miss Minnie Bronson, General Secretary of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and Hon. John A. Matthews of Newark, N. J. Details of this hearing will be given in our next issue.

(From *The Outlook*, March 7.)

CHICAGO, Ill., February 25. Over 47,000 women voted at the primaries in Chicago on Tuesday, being about thirty per cent. of the number registered. At the same primary 126,916 men voted, being about thirty-four per cent. of the number registered. The suffragists have a variety of excuses for the lightness of this vote. At first glance the proportion of women voting to those registered seems approximate to that of the men. But the large number of women registered seems due not wholly to the desire of 150,000 women for the franchise; it was partly due to the representations by newspapers and many people interested in good government that since the ballot has been thrust upon women it must be used. To my knowledge many anti-suffragists registered under this belief, but, discovering that the legality of woman suffrage had not been decided, they refrained from voting. The spectacle of women candidates distributing cigars and candy for votes has repelled many women as well as men. The *Daily News* remarks editorially: "Women are employing methods similar to those employed by the male of the species full many a year ago." Two of the women candidates retired from their unsuccessful contests with bitter accusations as to the dishonesty of women in politics, one declaring that the country would probably be better off if women did not have the ballot. But perhaps no more emphasis should be placed on the discontent of a disgruntled office-seeker than upon her enthusiasms; they may balance each other.

But we must remember that the privilege of voting was a most unwelcome surprise to Illinois women, that it was never submitted to them for decision. The suffragists, confessing that they would be defeated by any popular vote, put the measure quietly through the Legislature. It was their published boast that they had defeated eleven members of the present Legislature who had voted against suffrage. We must remember also the tremendous campaign of education given by a canvass brought to our very doors and the lack of organization among the quiet and thoughtful women who do not want the franchise. In view of all these facts, it seems that we, who rely upon the sober second thought of the men and women of Illinois, may be justified in saying that the smallness of this vote is its most representative feature.

C. W. KRETZINGER.

SUFFRAGISTS have a way of asking: "Well, even if you don't want to vote, why should you try to keep other women from casting a ballot?" The answer generally given to that is that we know we shall have to vote if others do in order to carry our point of view and to defeat that one to which we have so strong an objection. But there is a question in this connection that we would like to put to the advanced feminist: "If you don't want or need privileges, why do you object to other women's keeping them? If maintenance and dower and alimony, chivalry and exemption from voting and hanging bore you, why don't you personally renounce these privileges or move to a suffrage state where they don't exist? Why interfere with rights which many of your friends appreciate and which are certain sacred to every married mother of the working classes?" The reason that we don't want the ballot—one of the many reasons—is that we think the price too high, if it means taking privileges from women which are only to be paid for in windy promises. We don't know how women's votes can be always on the majority side in an election nor how they could enforce their laws if they were. To abandon our common-law rights in order to depend on the chances of elections seems to some thoughtful people very like insanity. But we begin to suspect that the suffragist has no real intention of abolishing privilege except in the cases of wives and mothers—the "free woman" is to have more privileges than ever before. In order to give her a larger freedom, she is to be relieved from all domestic and maternal obligations and a new code of morality is to be advocated in her behalf. By the new code the woman who lives for herself alone will be held immensely superior to her who accepts a woman's destiny and fulfills a woman's mission. We will then be at the feet of the hetira—a condition generally denoting national decadence. But are the suffragists likely to succeed in depriving wives and mothers of their privileges? We think they will not find it easy. And we think that even if they did succeed, the discontent with their legislation would be sufficiently general and acute to produce a reversal.

JULIA T. WATERMAN.

A MOVEMENT OF ABNORMALITIES—NOT AVERAGES

THE deterioration of mentality due to the espousal of the extreme tenets of woman suffrage is one of the results most painfully evident to-day in woman's literary work. The attempt to fit all natural law into a new theory which is built on a fundamental denial of differences which are brought to our notice twenty times a day, can only produce the result of warping the intelligence and destroying the faculty for just and accurate observation. Almost any thesis can be sustained by a long and elaborate course of argument, but it requires in some cases a complete re-education of the brain and natural mental processes to carry this out. Thus suffragists must learn to ignore or deny whatever fact stands in their way, and to do this, exceptional or abnormal instances must be multiplied, exaggerated and repeated until the normal become forgotten or ashamed of themselves. We hear every day now of women who would rather do the work of men, of men who prefer the work of women, of babies who thrive on canned food and with absentee mothers, of husbands who are never so proud of their wives as when they are leading a mob down Broadway, of animals (especially reptiles) with all sorts of strange methods of reproduction, of voters who can't fight and of fighters who can't vote; in fact of every possible eccentricity required to support the initial falsehood. And yet, as always, "the exception proves the rule." For the average woman prefers her own work as the average man does his, and the average baby needs its mother and food from nature's source, and the average man wishes his wife wouldn't when he sees her on parade, and the average mammal cannot be compared with the embryonic forms of life except in an evolutionary sense, and the average voter is a potential fighter, though all fighters are not necessarily potential voters.

The most striking examples of deterioration in woman's literary work caused by this pernicious mental habit of attempting to fit all fact into a preconceived theory are shown in the present output of writers who once evinced unmistakable evidences of genius, but whose books now are limited in circulation and appeal to that comparatively small class of minds who agree with their political views. Olive Schreiner wrote as a girl a book of genius, the conclusion of which was that life was alone made valuable by "a great love and much serving." She still believes no doubt in "much serving," since she claims "all labor" as woman's portion, but in what a different sense and how wanting in the "great love" which made labor sweet. Far from broadening her point of view, she has narrowed it, and this is the striking fact in all suffrage literature. The great books which were understanding of all humanity as a mother of her children, whether boys or girls, are now sex or party pleas, limited, exaggerated, warped, partisan and therefore, as human documents, absolutely deficient in craftsmanship and veracity.

Beatrice Harraden moved men's hearts with "Ships that Pass in the Night." It was not written to gain converts to a political party. The spirit of it was independent and bravely self-reliant, but not revolutionary or aggressive. Let anyone who can compare "Interplay" with that earlier work. Where is the spontaneity of the youthful effort? Yet where the balanced depth we might have expected as the mature outcome of so much youthful insight? "Ships that Pass" has not passed. We still give it room on our shelves, but "Interplay"! There is nothing in it but the ephemeral social unrest of the movement crystallized into some very repellent and crude characters. The names of these novels should be interchanged. May Sinclair wrote brilliant novels. She has written one of the weakest biographies it has been our lot to see—a biography in which the strong, brave reserved Bronté sisters are described as sentimental feminists, yearning and emotional and misunderstood. Doubtless the Brontés had a depth of feeling not usual in the less endowed, but surely they have expressed it better than their suffragist biographer's feminist imagination does. Moreover, the attempt to prove that Emily Bronté pointed no moral in "Wuthering Heights" is not true to the Bronté tradition. Emily Bronté was not a conventional believer, but her faith in the great healing power of nature and that hate passes and is negative of result is evident in all she writes. It is somewhat presumptive of a modern feminist to attempt to fit one of the great geniuses of history into a narrower, more definite and less true conception only in order to prove her an orthodox militant.

Mrs. Alfred Sidgewick wrote charming novels in which neither of the sexes held the monopoly of virtue or vice. Now the men have all the bad qualities and the women the good—if otherwise, it is clearly the men's fault.

Gertrude Atherton and Mary Johnston are also busy proving that the salvation of the world depends on votes for women. The former, however, admits that she prefers living where progress is not progressing quite so fast.

A woman great enough to write a novel uninfluenced by feminism would be indeed a welcome change. In the meantime we are forced back on Jane Austen for a fair apportionment of the foibles and virtues of both sexes. A political *parti pris* is apparently very destructive of fair literary work in the intense nature of woman. This arises no doubt from the fact that the doctrine of woman suffrage is based, not on any abstract reasoning or mathematical facts such as is the basis of an opinion on the tariff or naval increase, but on sympathies, emotions, prejudices and resentments which color and distort the judgment and the critical faculty. Feminism is not proving a source of intellectual enlightenment to women; however, it may be developing her money-getting faculties. We may live to say, that the best of woman's literary work was done in her days of "slavery" and "parasitism" after all.

J. T. W.

Woman's Equipment in the Turmoil of Politics

THE majority of women are not properly equipped either mentally or physically to meet the strain that the political life necessitates; including criticism both just and unjust, it is far more complicated than the suffrage woman brings before the eyes of the public.

How many of our men in political life labor under great strains and become nervous wrecks, and are women, who have not been accustomed to conditions, more fitted for the hard and unexpected blows that must come with the trials of political life?

Surely it is no more than right that women should have their say as regards justice to self and others, but the ballot is not necessary for that.

Let women carefully study the laws of the States of New York and New Jersey and I am safe in saying they will find these laws cover everything they are seeking for in the ballot. Or why is it necessary to agitate for laws that are already made by man? We have laws prohibiting child labor; this has been in force for many years; we also have laws protecting women's rights and property. And, too, her word in court counts more than man's, even though she be in the wrong. Man is more considerate of her than of his fellow men; and who of our intelligent men who are masters of truths and facts care to be ruled by women?

Women were made to comfort, not confuse or command by force. They are supposed to be men's superiors as peace-makers, not disturbers of the peace, as the woman suffragists are to-day. Are not the good works women have been doing for years enough for them to handle? Let them continue in charitable work; helping the poor in many ways, forming clubs for working girls, taking care of invalid mothers and children; teaching and training the ignorant and careless and helping human nature in general and cease fighting for something that is not a necessity.

Let men continue in their work. Their duty is the ballot. There are to-day too many women filling the positions of men. True, we are living in a sensational age, most of it created by women. Giving them the ballot will only take away from them the standard they have maintained for years and they will be crushed and humiliated by men for their attempt to act like men. What *woman* wants to take the place of her husband in life?

I sincerely hope that our women who are working so earnestly and hard for the ballot will, through the grace of Divine Providence be enlightened as to the lack of necessity for it.

Some American Militants at Home and Abroad

IN view of the reiterated charge of the suffragists that "anti-suffragists are the only militants," the following facts are of interest:

Miss Alice Paul, Chairman of the Congressional Union, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., organized to defeat any statesman who dares to oppose the wishes of the suffragists, is a member of the Woman's Social and Political Union (the militant organization of England), wears its badge and floated the banner of the English suffragists over the National American Woman Suffrage headquarters in Washington, of which she was in charge at the time of the suffrage parade in March last. Miss Paul has served a month at hard labor in Holloway Hall, England, for throwing a brick through a stained-glass window on the occasion of the Mayor's banquet to the Cabinet in Guildhall.

Miss Lucy Burns, who recently attracted attention and endeavored to achieve fame by writing on the sidewalks of Washington, is associated with Miss Paul in her work in this country. Miss Burns went to England especially to speak and parade for the militant cause; marched in the front rank of a delegation that tried to corner Premier Asquith in his home and was arrested for attempted violence on the police guard outside the house.

If Miss Paul and her methods are not "militant," why has there been a split in the Congressional Union because of dissatisfaction with the avowed policy of the Union leaders? If there is no militancy in this movement, why has Mrs. Belmont contributed $5,000 to a "war chest of $14,000" to be used to oppose congressmen who do not vote for suffrage?

If there is to be no militancy in the suffrage program and no coercion, why all this talk of a "war chest"? Why all this talk of "tearing up the Constitution" that does not just exactly suit some people? Why all this defiance of the powers that be and declarations that the income tax will not be paid by certain leaders and advice to their followers to likewise disregard the law? Why, oh why, everything that smacks so loudly of violence and revolution? If these things are not "militant," then the writer has mis-read the definition of that war-like word.

Child Labor Philanthropist on the Evil of Politics

JANE ADDAMS is a philanthropist who believes that her work will be much facilitated if only she can get it into politics. V. Everit Macy is a philanthropist who believes that his work will be much hindered unless he can keep it outside politics. Miss Addams thinks the welfare of the poor may be made a party question, dependent on majorities. V. Everit Macy says: "The way to accomplish these practical and immediate benefits is, of course, by taking the department out of politics. The dependent poor, the adults and orphans are a helpless lot. They have no friends. No class in the community needs disinterested service more than they. That is why the hospitals and poor-houses should be taken out of the zone of political wars. Poor departments all over the country should be run as the Red Cross is run, with the enlightened aid of the community, and with no political debts to pay."

We have all heard of Hull House and know Miss Addams as an authority on social settlement work. Mr. Macy is also a person of practical experience. He is one of the founders of the New York Child Labor Committee and of the National Child Labor Committee and is on the Executive Committee of the National Society for Labor Legislation, of the National Employment Exchange and of the Provident Loan Society, as well as being one of the founders of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. Mr. Macy was also Secretary of the George Junior Republic for a number of years and his experience there taught him to believe in the individual development of children as "adopted members of households rather than in the mass as inmates of institutions."

Miss Addams and Mr. Macy hold diametrically opposite views as to the effect of politics on philanthropy. We are in entire agreement with Mr. Macy's point of view, which is more in line with modern progress. The idea that charitable undertakings should be dragged into politics belongs to the period of dishonest public contracts and grafting which we are striving to set aside. Hull House, too, "should be run as the Red Cross is run, with the enlightened aid of the community and no political debts to pay." It is only thus that it can retain the confidence of the community.

A Deeper Problem than Participation in Government

By Eugenie Schloenborn

FROM time immemorial it has been woman's lot to fill a place of apparent subordination in this world, a place inferior, however, only in regard to outward matters—politics, government, the laws of the land and wage-earning. Woman's sphere lies in the ethical development of life, the spiritual uplifting, not only in the thankless tasks of daily life, but in all that makes men strong and good and noble, as well as great, all that molds character and soul. In the very fulfilment of this arduous, endless duty, she rises to the highest dignity and becomes the greatest power in the workings of the world by the right of truth and love and justice. We need not rule by force, we triumph by persuasion. We have long been recognized as the superior moral force, why then, with the highest aim in life, step down from our throne to seek worldly gain? Why not be contented to wield the scepter with the unfailing power of virtue? Intellectually women have proved to be as capable, often superior to men, but intellect alone is not integrity, woman must strive higher. Does she truly believe she can control evil better by meddling in men's work, or do greater things than heretofore, with the privilege of the ballot? Woman's vote will not reform the law, nor bring greater independence to women, if men are not willing to help them. Men and women should work in harmony and supplement each other to raise the standard of living. When women prowl around men's realm there will be antagonism instead of peace and harmony. Women will not stop at the vote for equal rights. No one will dispute the fact that, should she hold political office, she would soon lose the strongest traits of womanhood — modesty and gentleness. There would be an end to chivalry and the privileges and esteem which American women hold above all others. Why not show that she, the American woman, is worthy of the privileges so generously bestowed and long enjoyed, rather than follow in the footsteps of her discontented and oppressed sisters? The movement involves far deeper problems than the mere right of voting and participation in matters of government. It is a most serious question of woman's place and activity in future, a most vital question of controlling and conquering the present tendency toward frivolity, disfavor of manual labor, the latter, which never fails to bring blessing. Manual labor is not menial when controlled by the mind. There is now a decided need of efficiency and responsibility in every line of domestic work. Suffrage for women indicates rather a mark of degeneracy than of progress in evolution, lack of vigor in man, lack of moral force in woman.

Woman's life is not a matter of home-making alone, her influence is the same outside of home-life, a direct moral and spiritual force everywhere. It has wisely been said, that woman's work is never done, implying that her field of activity is so vast, her influence so far-reaching, that she cannot easily perform her duties too well. Her work should not be slavish, but steer steadily toward a noble end. If we followed our own inclinations, would there be any gentlewomen at all? It is for woman to uphold self-denial, dignity and self-restraint for all time. When woman leaves her post, who will fill the vacancy or perform her tasks?

What the Michigan and Ohio Defeats Portend

(Editorial from the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, Feb. 9, 1914.)

THREE apparent "setbacks" have been given the equal suffrage movement since the beginning of the year. During January the Mississippi House refused to submit the question to popular vote. Last week President Wilson again declined the request of a suffrage delegation to urge legislation upon his party in Congress, and the Democratic caucus of the House rejected the plan to establish a suffrage committee. Opinions differ regarding the seriousness of these rebuffs. A few of the radical leaders seem disposed to bitterness, and talk of reprisals. Conservative advocates of the grant accept them philosophically as not unexpected parts of the day's work. It is pointed out that the favoring vote in the Mississippi House was encouragingly large. As for Mr. Wilson, members of the delegation which visited him last Monday came away comforted by the belief that their cause has his personal sympathy. The Democratic caucus did not oppose woman suffrage, but declared that the question was one for disposition by the states. There are many suffragists who agree with that view and are out of sympathy with the movement to force Federal action.

These early experiences of 1914 may prove rather helpful to woman suffrage than otherwise if its leaders take the trouble to trace the causes of the "setbacks" and set about the removal of those causes. The undertaking to force Federal action already has created some division in their own ranks. It is championed, we suppose, in the belief that it offers the easiest and quickest way to equal suffrage. Yet, as we understand it, the utmost aid that could be given by Congress, were Congrees willing to do all in its power for the suffrage-seeking ladies, would be to submit a constitutional amendment. That amendment would have to be ratified by three-fourths of the states. Can the proponents of Federal action name off-hand thirty commonwealths, or even twenty, that would ratify? Would not its submission tend to raise up new opposition in the Southern states, whose problems with respect to the franchise are well understood and whose resentment of Federal interference under this head is founded in bitter experience?

As we see it, the congressional route to equal suffrage is anything but a "short cut." It leaves the question, after all, to be fought out in the States. The successes so far achieved have been scored by state action. The rush to Washington seems to us ill-judged, though the ladies must, of course, decide that for themselves. In addition, it may not be amiss to suggest that the legislatures are most likely to enact suffrage legislation when they are convinced that their constituencies desire it. In two states—Michigan and Ohio—suffrage was last year beaten by popular vote. Is it not possible that the suffragists are making haste rather than speed when they insist upon legislative action before they have made any very active or comprehensive campaign to enlist public sentiment and popular support for their cause?

A Resolution

THIS resolution was unanimously adopted at the regular monthly meeting of the District Association, Thursday afternoon, Miss Elizabeth Davis offering the resolution:

Whereas, Repeated efforts are made by women suffragists to show that the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and others opposed to woman suffrage are co-operating with the liquor interests, and

Whereas, These so-called efforts and proofs lack even the slightest semblance of truth, are absolutely false and purposely misleading, and

Whereas, Woman suffrage leaders in various parts of the country have been reported as acknowledging co-operation with liquor interests, and statistics and figures based on official records of the Government prove beyond any doubt that the cause of temperance is best served in states where woman suffrage does not obtain; therefore be it

Resolved, That the District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage fully endorse the sentiment of Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association, to the effect "that under no circumstances would this organization make the fight against suffrage with the help of the liquor men," and that the Association "would not permit itself to be stigmatized by even the appearance of such a co-operation," and that the Association "refuse to be championed by undesirable persons or groups of persons" (WOMAN'S PROTEST of February), and further be it

Resolved, That the District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage place itself on record as condemning in unqualified terms the drink evil and all those who are responsible therefor; that it pay its tribute to those individuals and organizations that are devoting their efforts to ameliorate conditions and wipe out the evils and abuses incident to the liquor traffic; and that it pledge its moral support to every honest and sincere endeavor having for its purpose the promotion of true temperance and the betterment of mankind.

Not Imitators But Complements

(An Editorial from Boston *Herald,* February 19, 1914.)

A STATE commissioner has just told a Boston audience that eugenic law will be little needed so long as men desire beauty and women admire strength. He was at least half right.

Whatever Plato may have said, eugenic control must be mainly for restraint. Law may well forbid the marriage of disordered bodies or disturbed minds; but it must stop there—at least so long as kissing goes by favor. Though marrying is serious business, it never was intended to mirror the will of a dispassionate majority; it should reflect a personal choice and a loyalty as deep as life.

Here in Massachusetts, where women outnumber men by more than half a million, the question, why men propose, has long been vexing. Yet the answer is no mystery. Men like in women what is most womanly. Of course, men desire bodily grace and beauty; but not so much as qualities of flesh and bone, as signs of what a woman is in mind and heart and will. The prettiness of a sweetheart is but the outer aspect of her inner worth. Men also ask of women an indefinable tenderness, of the kind that mother used to make, the kind that, in the day of trouble, turns to a strength finer than their own. They want the merriness that means comradeship; they like an interest less in their affairs than in themselves; they want a love that can pet without spoiling. They hope for such a wife as will sweeten their busiest day with forward glimpses of the evening with her in the home she makes. With all allowance for haste and glamor, every uneffeminate man knows well that for his wife he wants first a womanly woman.

This is why feminism need not be thought a goal of history, nor a danger to the race. So long as men stay men, the girl with a man's collar and cravat or with cigarette stains on her fingers, the woman with Napoleonic profile and with hands reaching for the rod of empire, will seldom propagate her species. For men do not want by their firesides and across their tables unnatural imitators of themselves; they want their complements.

The Illinois Primary Vote

CHICAGO suffragists, militant and otherwise, are somewhat subdued, but there is an undercurrent of bitter feeling over primaries.

In the first place they had expected to poll fully three times the number of votes they actually showed. On top of this are ugly charges of dishonesty, trickery, double-dealing and the statement that women, especially those in politics, are far inferior to men when it comes to a matter of honor.

Miss Sarah Hopkins, defeated for the Democratic aldermanic nomination in the Second Ward, and Mrs. Marie Gerhardt, Democratic aldermanic candidate in the Twenty-third ward, also defeated, make flat accusations that their downfall was due to the treachery of "sisters" in the cause.

Miss Hopkins came directly to the point when she said:

"I was beaten by the action of Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout and the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. It was the statement issued by the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, advising women not to affiliate with any political party unless assured of success, that resulted in the light vote. I think Mrs. Trout and her organization will have to answer to the women voters of Chicago for the defeat they received at the polls.

"Nothing has been a greater surprise to me in my political experience than the dishonest women with whom I have had to contend. I would much prefer to deal with a man. You can rely on what a man says. The women are not to be trusted—that is, a great many of them are not."

Mrs. Gerhardt holds the same opinion. "Several women called me on the telephone," she said, "and offered to work for me at the polls if I would pay them $5 a day. I told them I was not hiring watchers and workers and they then told me they would hire out to other candidates, but would work for me just the same.

"This means that they would accept money from other candidates and then play false. From that and other experience I feel the country would probably be better off without woman suffrage."—*The Detroit Free Press* (February 26.)

Comparatively few Illinois women took advantage of their first opportunity to vote under the provisions of the new state suffrage law. Returns tabulated indicated that more than two-thirds of the registered women remained away from the primary elections held in many cities and towns of the state.

In Chicago, the total number of women who voted was 47,529, or about 30 per cent. of the 158,524, who had qualified. The heaviest woman's vote in the state was at Galesburg, the scene of a "wet" and "dry" contest, where the women cast nearly one-half of the total vote.

Seven Chicago women who had no opposition were nominated for aldermen. Three of them were progressives and four were socialists. Two women, candidates on the Democratic ticket, had strong opposition and were defeated. Ten aldermen were retired to private life. All of them were Democrats, and with one exception, were opposed by the Municipal Voters' League.

A SUFFRAGIST DEFENSE OF GONERIL AND REGAN

As Suggested by Sarah Parker

IN the characters Goneril and Regan we find bold, fearless, energetic, ambitious, intellectual women; surely a whole galaxy of admirable qualities.

Before their time, and for many years thereafter, woman was simply a chattel, a piece of property to be bought or sold, or entirely ignored, as best suited the purposes or caprice of her lord and master.

These women were qualified by birth and intellect to be queens of the great kingdom of Britain. Their father, by reason of age and mental infirmity, must relinquish his power. He had no son on whom to bestow the title; had he possessed a son these daughters would not have received the smallest fraction of power; the kingdom was his and he must part with it. The daughters felt the gift was one of necessity, the kingdom was in a demoralized condition, hence they saw no reason for gratitude. They considered the petted, childish, inexperienced Cordelia entirely unfit to share their great responsibility, and they fully realized the mental decay of the aged king. We have no evidence of conceit or over-esteem, but simply a just appreciation of their own qualifications. Who can tell, had a little more time been given them, they might have reached a proper balance and have made excellent, judicious rulers. The pendulum always swings far to either side before it reaches its equilibrium.

Fully realizing their father's insanity, they saw the folly and uselessness of keeping up the mere show of power; to their calm, dispassioned minds, a hundred wooden soldiers would have served as good a purpose as the hundred knights, and their treatment of the insane was the common treatment of their time; severity, not kindness, was the rule.

They were probably married as were other women of their time; their husbands were selected and purchased for them and there is no reason to assume that they had ever professed any affection for them; therefore, when their breasts were filled with the divine passion, we should surely give them pity rather than censure that their love was bestowed upon the same man. Of their love for Edmund, let us speak gently:

"Alas! the love of women! it is known
To be a lovely and a fearful thing."

All their lives they had been united in purpose and in work, and it is not even unnatural that their love should go out to the same man. They were heathen, barbarians, pagans. No moral or religious training had come into their lives. Murder was of slight consideration, suicide was positive glory. Goneril made way with her sister, it is true, but not for hatred of her—it was for love of her lover. Many a criminal with one purpose in view (oftentimes a good purpose) has hated the path of crime he was forced to follow in order to reach the goal of his ambition.

"I pray you in your letters,
When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice; then must you speak
Of one that loved not wisely but too well."

Then, crushed by remorse, disappointment and defeat, she ended her life as a suicide. In their estimation the noblest and bravest death to die—the death of a martyr, the death of a hero. I hold that they were bold, fearless, energetic, ambitious, intellectual women.

They wanted to show to the world that despised, scorned, neglected, down-trodden woman was able to govern a kingdom, and not only able to govern, but to elevate it above the low standard in which it had been given to them; for it must be conceded that it had been carelessly governed owing to Lear's mental infirmity. If, at this late date, any farther excuse is wanted for their conduct, may not the weight of new and heavy burdens, and their sudden emancipation from years of slavery have developed the seeds of insanity which had lain dormant in their brains—their legacy from their father? If they were not actually insane their minds were without doubt thrown out of balance by their sudden release from servitude, and their sudden assumption of power.

These women were among the first, perhaps the first, to throw off the yoke of slavery, to assert their rights and to defend them, and to maintain their equality with man.

We of the twentieth century should admire and hold them in grateful remembrance for furnishing us with a type, yes, more than a type, a prophecy; a prophecy which is being fulfilled in our day—a prophecy of

The New Woman—The Suffragette.

"She Sensed a Larger Field"

Florence Goff Schwarz, from *The Cincinnati Commercial Tribune.*

Because her sex was feminine—she bore the title "wife"—
She thought the Lord had misconceived the purpose of her life.
Her limited environment perplexed her more and more.
She longed to burst her chrysalis and lift her wings and soar.

She wouldn't wash the dishes and she wouldn't make a bed,
Because such coarse and common work would spoil her hands, she said.
Although her husband's income, and his business, too, was slack,
She wouldn't do the weekly wash because it hurt her back.

She didn't care for children. "They are nuisances," said she,
"They make an awful lot of work, so none of them for me."
The training of an infant mind would surely interfere
With her ambitious visions of a notable career.

She garbed herself most modishly in all the latest frills,
The while her husband sacrificed, and slaved to pay her bills.
She wondered why on earth she ever wed the stupid dub,
Her only consolation was a session at the club.

For there she sensed a larger field, brimful of strange delights,
A hundred worlds to conquer when the women get their "rights."
A second Joan of Arc was she, who couldn't bake a cake,
But who could marshal armies when her country was at stake.

The neighbors from her gossip had a respite of surcease,
While from the stump she advocated universal peace.
With eloquence her soul was fired, the women folk went wild
To hear one tell of children's wrongs who never had a child.

She spoke of loving sacrifice, of work she would perform,
Whose husband scarcely ever ate a supper that was warm.
She guaranteed to rid the earth of all its present ills,
And what became of hubby? Why, he went on paying bills.

"TARANTISM"—A SUFFRAGE DISEASE

ACCORDING to several medical authorities, the suffragette suffers from a definite nervous disorder in a more or less violent degree. The medical term for the complaint is tarantism. The disease, in its incipient stages at least, is curable. The malady is chiefly confined to women and is classified with St. Vitus's dance. Special investigations in the matter have been made by Dr. A. E. Shipley of Cambridge, England, and by German scientists, who confirm his opinions.

The malady completely baffled the physicians of early times. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries it spread throughout Europe. Medical authorities believe that the present demonstrations, especially in England, are simply a recurrence of this ancient disease.

The symptoms of tarantism may be readily recognized. One of the most common habits of the sufferer is the monotonous and rhythmical utterance of some word or short phrase. In more advanced stages there is a loss of all self-control. It is suggested by some medical writers that the sufferer should be deprived of personal liberty, even in the early stages of the malady.

The sufferers have been found to show a marked preference for certain colors or combinations of colors. Many of the patients are violently affected by music and their paroxysms are brought on by music, or at least much increased in violence. These symptoms have much in common with St. Vitus's dance, whose victims are also affected by certain colors and by music.

The treatment for tarantism is similar to that employed with more familiar nervous disorders. The patient is removed as much as possible from all excitement. A complete change of air and scene is usually prescribed. Only the simplest foods are permitted and the sufferer is encouraged to take as much outdoor exercise as possible, together with cold baths and vigorous massage. Such treatment has been found to bring relief within a few weeks.

In treating violent cases quieting medicines are sometimes employed. When the disease reaches an advanced stage, accompanied by screaming and jumping, it may be found necessary to place the sufferer in restraint. It has been found that even when the sufferer seems to have lost all control over her understanding she will be found sufficiently composed at intervals to obey the instructions the doctor or attendants may give.

It has been found extremely difficult to work a complete cure in the more violent cases which have been neglected. Years after the victim has apparently been completely restored to her normal health any undue excitement is likely to bring on a relapse and a recurrence of the distressing symptoms.

THE VALUE OF RIGHT HOME INFLUENCES

MISS GERTRUDE BEEKS, director of the welfare department of the National Civic Federation, did not hesitate to say at a recent meeting that the associating of the wage question and the social evil brings that insidious power of suggestion into many a working girl's mind.

In the deluge of white slavery propaganda which has filled movies and stage, as well as magazine and newspaper, of late, Miss Beeks says the poor working girl has been besmirched with moral stains.

We quote Miss Beeks:

"The working girl is a heroine and she deserves better treatment. But I protest with my utmost power against the aspersions being cast upon her and upon womanhood in general by stating that as a result of poor wages she is forced to augment her income, as she goes en route to white slavery, by irregular means.

"Many vital points have been overlooked in recent discussions of this problem.

"All thorough investigations should include the questions of home influences, school training, mental development, heredity, occupations, hours of work, views regarding life in general, recreation.

"If all of these questions were studied, especially the home and the school and recreation, we would not be so strong against economic conditions, and especially the department stores. It is not need of clothes nor shelter nor food that forces a girl into white slavery."

Modern Tendencies Viewed by Prof. Taft

"THE theory that it requires any preparation to construe a constitution, to interpret a law, or to apply the principles of customary law, is, of course, a rejected one, and only an evidence of that narrow view of things that ought really, if proper criminal laws were enacted under the new dispensation, to consign its advocates to limbo. We have prided ourselves on reasonable success in our efforts to secure equality before the law, and equality of opportunity, but these are the least of our ambitions. We are to live in an age when everybody knows as much as everybody else, when we have the happy dead level of equality of experience, equality of education, equality of judgment, equality of condition and everything, but, if I may venture an exception, equality of common sense. The referendum is to be extended. To old fogies it may seem an hysteria that leads to the strikes of school children, so that in bodies of 1000 they leave their school-houses and decline to return until the school superintendent or the school board shall restore some principal whose transfer has been ordered. We are going to have a scapegoat for those who previously have been thought to be at fault." —Wm. Howard Taft in his speech before the Pennsylvania Society.

"A BASE SLANDER ON THE SEX"

LETTER FROM A COLONEL IN THE ARMY TO ANOTHER

My Dear.....:

Thank you for the enclosures, which interested me very much. That any such ideas and sentiments should be designated "feminist" is a base slander on the sex, for it is impossible to imagine anything *less* feminine than the finale described in "Hindle Wakes."

Yours, ...

Action is certainly an excellent thing, and all real progress is a result of action, but it is only useful when properly directed. The men of the French Revolution were assuredly men of action, yet the illusions which they accepted as guides led them to disaster. Action is always hurtful when despising realities, it professes violently to change the course of events. One cannot experiment with society as with apparatus in a laboratory. Our political upheavals show us what such social errors may cost. GUSTAV LE BON.

German Anti-Suffrage League at Work

The German National Anti-Suffrage League held its second annual meeting in Berlin late in the year 1913; the first day and forenoon of the second were occupied with meetings of the council and executive committee, election of officers, changes in the by-laws and administrative business. The conference closed with an open meeting in a very large hall, which was well filled. This meeting was called to order at 4 P. M., and after a number of addresses by prominent members of the League, was opened for discussion from the floor, which continued until the meeting was closed at nine o'clock. Men and women, anti-suffragists and suffragists alike, were recognized in about equal numbers by the chairman, who was the newly elected President, Professor Langemann of the University of Kiel. The tenor of the speeches differs very little from that of suffrage discussion here and in England; the German anti-suffragists dwell perhaps a little more than elsewhere on the paramount importance to the nation of woman's influence in the home.

One of the speakers a specialist on nervous diseases, said during the discussion: "A deplorable symptom and a proof of (present-day) degeneration is the fact that we now have a movement for the emancipation of children, and a periodical with this object, in which children are called upon to demand their right to decide their own future."

The official title of the German organization (Deutscher Bund gegen die Frauenemanzipation) should be translated "German Opposition to Feminism"; the term used in their name might otherwise give rise to serious misunderstanding of their object. The secretary was at pains to explain that the word "emancipation" (of women) is applied in German only to the excrescences or perversions of the woman's movement, and the true meaning is therefore covered in English by our definition of the word "feminism" in its latest manifestations.

A letter from Berkeley, Calif., bearing date of February 18th, says:

An ordinance to eliminate one hundred (100) of the three hundred (300) liquor saloons in the City of Oakland, Calif., was defeated, although the vote polled was large and the women were prominent at the polls. This seems to be the first real test of woman's influence since the adoption of woman suffrage.

CONFUSION BETWEEN LICENSE AND FREEDOM

"THE confusion of thought between bodily license and spiritual freedom is a very real evil in the propaganda which is now affecting women. For whatever may be the motive which prompts women to demand an extension of political or social rights, their spiritual development has nothing to do with it. Of course, they will argue that they hope, through political rights, to achieve economic and social conditions more favorable to their sex, but that is not the point. Obviously the same end—the amelioration of social and economic conditions — might be achieved by other means. We have already done a good deal toward this achievement, but what proof have we of a greater degree of 'spiritual freedom' among women — what evidence of nobler personality or more original and forceful character?"

* * * * *

"If * * * a woman, in return for her home and the privilege of being a monogamous wife, gives nothing in exchange but a few hours dilatory supervision of the household, she is really little more than a parasite, and the effect on her own character is bound to be disastrous, while it is difficult to believe that her relations with her husband will not suffer. The discontent and restlessness of modern women is partly attributable to the under employment of a large section of them, and the theory, steadily instilled into them for two generations, that their first duty is to themselves.

"It is amusing to find that writers who are most eager to claim an equality of status for woman are also anxious to secure for her a lien on her husband's income—they do not suggest that he should have a lien on hers.

"Needless to say, it is only extreme and ignorant fanatics who urge that regulations in the interests of woman and her offspring are due to the selfish desires of man to limit her economic competition with him, but it is necessary to mention that this charge is made, has often been made, in the hearing of the writer by irresponsible persons, because it shows the extremes to which a certain wing of the feminist party are prepared to go. When Mr. Burns proposed a bill to extend the period before and after childbirth during which a woman may not be industrially employed, quite a wave of indignation passed over the feminist ranks. Similar outcries greeted the humane regulations of fifty years ago which withdrew tiny children from factories. It was urged that their poverty-stricken families would be nearer starvation for lack of their little wage. In reality such limitations of badly paid and unskilled work are actually beneficial to the worker in the long run, and the limitation and regulation of woman's work has had an effect the reverse of depressing on the family wage as a whole."

—Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun.

AGITATORS' REFORMS OF DOUBTFUL VALUE

(From a California Woman's Letter.)

I HAVE made observations of my own among the Suffragists. They have convinced me that it is still only the leading Suffragists, or as they might be called, the agitators, that take any interest in voting. They are forced to give "registration teas" to induce women to register, and luncheons where political subjects are discussed by orators, where all sorts of women go with the idea that they are achieving *Society* by so doing. The nice, ordinary, self-respecting women are as indifferent as ever. Many so-called "Club Women" urge "reforms" of which they do not understand the effect, and an increasing disapproval of women is gaining among men—of this last I am quite sure. Most of the leading Suffragists are Socialists—they make no concealment of this. The police courts are daily supervised by women. The whole situation is forcing a degenerating, a waning type of woman. We are truly living here under the "juggernaut of the majority." An amazing disregard of the decencies of life is expressed by sane women—they may possibly have always had this disregard, but they certainly would not formerly have expressed it so openly.

A series of degrading stories of the demimonde were recently printed daily in an evening paper in San Francisco. They were edited by and with earnest approval of two leading Suffragists. They were, however, so vile that the postal authorities are said to have deemed them quite unfit for the United States mails.

ACTIVITIES OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS DURING 1914

IN New Jersey activity has in no sense diminished. Several important meetings have been held since the first of the year. Among them are the following:

January 16—In Newark, where an organization was formed in late December. Speakers were Mrs. Breese and Mrs. Jamieson.

January 21—Rahway was organized at a meeting addressed by Mrs. Oliphant and Mrs. Breese.

January 27—The New Jersey Men's League was formed with Colonel William Libbey of Princeton, Chairman, and an initial enrollment of 700 members, including many of the most prominent men in the state of all political parties.

January 28—Miss Clara Vezin of Elizabeth, Legislative Chairman, conducted a hearing before the Joint Judiciary Committees of the Senate and House, the House sitting as a committee of the whole. Our speakers were former Chancellor Magie of Elizabeth, Mrs. John Emery of Morristown, Mrs. Sherman B. Joost of Plainfield, Rabbi Solomon Foster of Newark, Mrs. Orville D. Oliphant of Trenton, Miss Bronson of New York, Hon. John A. Matthews of Newark. Mrs. Edward Yarde Breese, President of the New Jersey Association, presided. Miss Bronson and Mrs. Oliphant spoke in rebuttal. The suffrage speakers were Mrs. Everett Colby of Plainfield, Presiding Officer; Mrs. Desbra Breckenridge of Kentucky, Rabbi Stephen Wise of New York and Miss Minnie Reynolds.

February 6—In Orange an enthusiastic meeting was addressed by Mrs. Oliphant and Miss Vezin.

The policy of the New Jersey Association is an educational one. We have organized in twenty months' time eleven branches and have fifty-nine organizations pending. We have spoken in every county of the state. Our organization has reached a basis of practical efficiency with the formation of the legislative committee, Miss Clara Vezin of Elizabeth, Chairman; and a finance committee, of which Mrs. John Constable Moore of Plainfield is Chairman.

The story is told of State Representative Sherburne of Brookline, Mass., who does not favor woman suffrage, that one of the women suffragists approached him, and demanded: "Wasn't your mother a woman?"

"Yes," replied Representative Sherburne, "and she hasn't changed."

And then the suffragist declared that she had been insulted.

DURING the past two months the work of the New Hampshire Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has been going on steadily but quietly. Names are constantly coming in from the smaller places throughout the state. With no immediate crisis at hand in the state, this is most encouraging.

A goodly delegation of New Hampshire women was present at the luncheon given in Boston January 13, with the result that increased enthusiasm is apparent.

The Concord Branch has held one largely attended parlor meeting, and on February 21 had a public meeting, at which Miss Lucy Price was the speaker.

Many women in the state are preparing articles for the anti-suffrage page of the *Woman's Issue of the Manchester Union*. It is noticeable that women are rapidly leaving the ranks of the indifferent and are earnestly taking up the cause.

Hundreds of letters have been sent to both senators in Washington.

How the Tide is Turning Against Suffrage

So much is heard of woman suffrage that we do not remember how strongly and steadily it has been defeated. During the last year woman suffrage has met defeat in Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Massachusetts, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, South Carolina and West Virginia. Also France and South Africa.

Maryland House Kills Suffrage Bill

The woman suffrage bill was killed in the Maryland House of Delegates by a vote of 60 to 34 on February 18. The bill provided for the submission to popular vote of a constitutional amendment to give women the vote. It would have required a three-fifths majority to pass.

The vote disposes of the question for this session by the Maryland legislators.

The feminist who declares no woman ever became eminent by being a good housekeeper or a good mother evidently mistakes eminence for cheap notoriety.

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, with Miss Minnie Bronson, a prominent anti-suffrage field worker, spent a week in January in South Carolina.

In response to an invitation from Charleston, S. C., the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has begun a campaign in South Carolina that will be carried into every state of the South.

Prior to this time Virginia was the only Southern state represented in our association, but other states in the South will be added rapidly to the list. Committees are now being formed in Texas, Alabama, Georgia and Kentucky. The work begun in South Carolina will extend throughout the South.

Although it is a recognized fact that Southern women are overwhelmingly opposed to the equal franchise, the suffragists are carrying on an active campaign in that section of the country that has shown less sympathy for their cause than any other group of states in East, Middle West or West. In view of the suffrage activity, which is misleading to people who are not familiar with the actual conditions, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage welcomes the organization of anti-suffrage associations throughout the South. They will give a medium of expression for the genuine sentiment of a community that has not been affected in the least by the work of the suffragists.

(*San Francisco Chronicle*)

THE absurd statements being printed at the East, that the adverse woman suffrage vote in this city was due to "the party machines having, under instructions from the corporate interests and liquor dealers, issued orders to their followers," are destitute of foundation. One ridiculous person declares that "the Chinese Six Companies had ordered the Chinese how to cast their ballots," and that "the voters of San Francisco and Oakland obeyed their masters." There is no sense in advancing improbable reasons for the attitude of San Francisco and Oakland when the true one is so easily perceived. Woman suffrage was beaten in San Francisco and Oakland because there were about 15,000 more men against the proposition than there were for it.

The country districts, however, more than offset this opposition vote.

SETTING AN EXAMPLE TO CERTAIN SUFFRAGISTS

EDITOR THE WOMAN'S PROTEST: The enclosed is a copy of a letter written to Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin.

Since your publication doubtless has a wide circulation among the active opponents of woman suffrage, may I hope for the insertion of the letter in your columns?

This publicity is desired in a spirit of fairness toward your workers, as well as in justice to myself, in order that no unsubstantiated statements be made by opponents or allies of the woman suffrage cause.

Very sincerely yours,
IDA PORTER-BOYER.

Dorchester, Mass., February 16, 1914.

(Letter to Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin)

MY DEAR MADAM:

A copy of the Hearing before the Committee on Rules, House of Representatives, December 3, 4, 5, 1913, has just reached me. On page 88, as part of your address, I find the following paragraph:

"Mrs. Ida Porter-Boyer, of Pennsylvania, campaigning for equal suffrage in Oklahoma, a prohibition state, said in 1910 that 'the only way to save the state to prohibition is to carry woman suffrage.' And two years later, in an interview in Michigan, reported in the *Detroit Journal*, she said, 'Yes, I'm afraid that the fear that if women obtain the ballot they will legislate saloons, boxing matches, horse races, and even smoking out of existence, is costing hundreds of votes.' Nothing could be further from our minds. Personally, if a man wants to smoke or drink or go to a horse race, or see some man batter another, it is his business, and none of mine. Suffrage will never attack personal liberties."

Both these statements purporting to have been made by me are absolutely and unqualifiedly false. Presuming that your sole authority for attributing said statements to me is derived from newspaper clippings, may I beg to remind you that suffragists, as well as anti-suffragists, are frequently misquoted by reporters who write with a laudable endeavor to make copy, but whose memories are not always accurate. If you have other than this authority, I should be glad to be advised of same. While I recognize the futility of endeavoring to overtake a misrepresentation, I trust, that being personally assured of the falsity of the two statements attributed by you to me, you will see that your co-workers do not perpetuate these positive untruths.

Very sincerely yours,
IDA PORTER-BOYER.

(The Answer from Mrs. Goodwin.)

MY Dear Mrs. Boyer—The quotation to which you refer was given me by our office secretary among the verified material which I have heretofore felt safe in using, feeling that I was not misquoting nor mispresenting anybody.

I accept your statement as to its falsity and will see that it is at once withdrawn from circulation wherever I can do so. I apologize for the wrong so inadvertently done. It is my attempt always to deal fairly and I am always glad to be corrected when I have inadvertently made an error. Might I suggest that this is perhaps a parallel case with the statement so often made (and never withdrawn, apologized for nor corrected by suffragists) that "all anti-suffragists are in league with the liquor and vice interests"—a statement first put forth, perhaps sincerely, by your President, who apparently accepts no denial of ours.

I hope that the outrageous assertions concerning Mrs. George, Miss Bronson and Miss Markeson, all absolutely and entirely false, made by suffrage supporters, may be withdrawn as gladly and as heartily as I withdraw and will endeavor to silence my statement to which you refer.

Very truly yours,
GRACE DUFFIELD GOODWIN.

DONE BY WOMAN'S INFLUENCE, WITHOUT A VOTE

TO the Editor of the PROTEST: Had I the time and the talent to do so, I would enjoy compiling an article for publication on this subject of suffrage from the business women's viewpoint, giving my own experiences, which cover a period of six years in politics, yet without the vote, or any desire for it. I will give you only a few instances:

In Oklahoma we have an ironclad child labor law which has been made an example for other parts of the world. We have to-day in the state near half a dozen women who are city clerks, and who were elected by the people. We have, that I happen to think of at this moment, two clerks of district courts who are women. two women who are registers of deeds, all of whom have been the choice of the people at the polls, as well as numerous, yea, countless women, who are holding both state and county appointive offices, and who are pointed to with pride by the male constituency. These are women who have heretofore demonstrated to the citizenship, by their energy and untiring work their capability, responsibility and thorough painstaking, that they were worthy of bearing a trust. Yet, so far as I have been able to learn, none of these desire suffrage. Why should they? They have everything they want without the vote. They have the privilege of asking for (and if they are big enough for the job) being given places of publis trust on an equal footing with men; they have many laws looking for the protection and safeguarding of wage-earning women that many of the suffrage states have not, and other health and sanitary laws looking to the betterment of the future generations. In addition to all this, they have, which is most priceless of all, that faith and confidence of the manhood of the country, which cannot be found in suffrage states, and which I challenge any one to refute. You may ask, "has all this been done without women's influence?" Nay, verily women's hand was at the helm which it so often is in matters concerning the nation life. How? By her influence over men. But perhaps in Oklahoma men have more confidence and faith in the zeal of their women than men in suffrage states in which to me seems a natural consequence. It may be that Oklahoma's men listen with more consideration to Oklahoma's women's wishes in matters of state than in others, but perhaps Oklahoma's women have a way of not asking for a thing at the hands of men until they are sure it is for the best interest of all concerned. It has been my humble experience that when a man (or woman) or set of men (or women) have thoroughly demonstrated to the public that they are worthy of having any trust of whatsoever kind or nature imposed upon them, or that they are big enough to handle any proposition, the opportunity is not long in coming.

(Signed) MRS. EDNA T. WATKINS, Deputy Clerk of Chickasha, Okla.

Why a Woman Editor Does Not Want the Vote

To the Editor of The Woman's Protest:

At the outset please accept my apologies for using the typewriter in my correspondence, but the truth of the matter is, I write so abominable a hand it is almost the despair of the printers at times. I never realized how fully bad it was until I had occasion to write our Governor a letter and in it used the phrase "the wife and the children." To my amazement the Governor's answer brought an offer of money aid to the man and the ten children in whose behalf I had written—so I have decided not to harrow anyone's feelings further by writing things they cannot understand.

Yesterday I mailed you copies of two or three of my editorials, and I can only say I have written on the same line for the past five years. I regret always that there are women in my profession who are seemingly blind to the facts which they, as newspaper women are bound to meet, in regard to the futility of the claim that women are to be benefited by the ballot.

I feel that it is only in the preservation of the home, the training of our children and the moral code which we will set as a standard for the men whom our men folks are to elect to office, that we may look for anything like a radical change in the present order of things. I have been so often appealed to, in the matter of wire-pulling, I have had so many letters from Senators, Congressmen, Governors of at least two States, and various small fry in the way of office holders—letters which have come unsought, but which show that officials, high, low and intermediate are what Mark Twain said all the Europeans were—"just folks."

The English Suffragettes are, as we know, repeating history. There seem to be epochs in time when an almost universal hysteria seizes on the people of a nation, and there is no stopping the attacks until the thing has burned itself out.

I am a firm believer in the home first; I had one, and I clung as long to it as a woman could; I have one son, a boy of eighteen, and I am now in my thirty-ninth year—so it would seem that if my wisdom were ever to be ripe it would be now. I have, as I wrote you before, edited for several years a daily paper; my editorials were quoted in the Atlanta *Constitution*, the Macon *Telegraph*, the Florida *Times-Union*, and it was not known a woman wrote them. I handled political questions in these editorials, as well as sociological and industrial matters—thus proving to my own satisfaction at least that I had the same grasp a man had of the matters—and yet I have never wanted to vote, nor become a militant anything, because I realized I could do more as a woman, from a woman's point of view and in a woman's way, than in any other.

My hobby is to better the condition of children and poor people. I think our way, nationally, of treating these two helpless classes is all wrong. I am heartily in favor of pensioning the widow and the deserted wife, where there are little children, and I would pension all old people in the custody of relatives or someone who would give them a *home* and care for them in home surroundings. Have you ever visited any of these "homes"? They always make me ill for days after; old soldiers and old men and women just sitting around waiting to die—and waiting for nothing else.

Suffragists are opposed to my plans on the child labor question, and my stand is simply this: By legislation we can handle and lessen the hard conditions which make child labor in the mills objectionable, and we can force through the Bill on Compulsory Education, but we cannot reach the woman who has been left a widow with a lot of little children on an isolated farm which is denuded of everything but the mortgage.

If the Suffragists had given thought to these deep truths, and had tried under any new way of argument to alter them, giving a feasible and easily adopted plan to better them, I would be in all sympathy with them; but they have lost sight of all that they may have stood for in the beginning, and it is another case of the child crying for the moon. If they had taken into consideration that the percentage of immoral women—women whom the political bosses would use as easily and as readily as they do the immoral man; the women who operate illicit places, by the grace of ward-heelers and ward bosses; the negro women who predominate in so great numbers in the South—where, oh, WHERE is it possible to accomplish anything by the ballot-box in communities such as these?

A. L. L.

My mother's influence in molding my character was conspicuous. She forced me to learn daily long chapters of the Bible by heart. To that discipline and patient, accurate resolve I owe not only much of my general power of taking pains, but the best part of my taste for literature.

—John Ruskin.

BALLAD FROM BOSTON

I

"You stole our posters!" Wildly hissed
The gaunt and tragic Suffragist.
"You wished to spoil—come now, confess—
Our Belmont's meeting and success!"

II

"Oh, No! We like upon your lists
To find the famous feminists
And all the other anarchists
Vouched for by ardent Suffragists.
Display such posters good and plenty,
They help our cause!" replied the Anti.

(*Chicago Evening Post*, February 7, 1914.)

The notions that our enemies in America can thwart our deep-laid plans for that country by regulations aimed at militant tactics seem self-remedy absurd, in view of what we know absolutely regarding the intentions of the women there if they don't get the vote before next year ends.—(From *The Suffragette*.)

Thus, for instance, people talk with a quite astonishing gravity of the inequality of the sexes, as if there could possibly be any inequality between a lock and a key. Wherever there is no element of variety, wherever all the items literally have an identical aim, there is at once and of necessity inequality. A woman is only inferior to a man in the matter of being not manly; she is inferior in nothing else. Man is inferior to woman in so far as he is not a woman; there is no other reason. And the same applies in some degree to all genuine differences. G. K. Chesterton.

"Let me make the laws of a country and I care not who sings its lullabies."

Mrs. Despard, a British Suffragette, urges women to make their own spring hats and turn the huge amount thus saved into the suffrage treasuries. Dr. Anna Shaw endorses the idea. Is this boycott of the milliners undertaken in the interest of the woman worker?

Accustomed to live in an organized society, supported by codes and respected traditions, we can with difficulty represent to ourselves the condition of a nation deprived of such a basis. As a general thing we see only the irksome side of our environment, too readily forgetting that society can exist only on condition of imposing certain restraints, and that laws, manners and customs constitute a check upon the natural instincts of barbarism which never entirely perishes.

Gustav le Bon.

NOTES AND COMMENT

It is amusing to hear the feminists declaiming about the evolution of the free woman. What we are really approaching is the era of the free man.

Can we suppose that societies will ever succeed in establishing artificially the equality refused by nature?

GUSTAV LE BON.

The Difference.—"Is that man who is running around giving advice a lobbyist?"

"Certainly not. He is on Our Side of the argument."—*Washington Star.*

The woman who takes up maternity without realizing that it may call for the full exercise of mind, soul and body is never likely to reach the top in her profession.

An excellent article by Molly Elliot Seawell appears in the March number of the *North American Review* under the title: "Two Suffrage Mistakes."

ALPHABET OF SUFFRAGIST ATTRIBUTES

Awfully Affable,
Brilliantly Blessed,
Cleverly Capable,
Daintily Dressed,
Easily Entertained,
Flagrantly Fluffed,
Graciously Garrulous,
Humanly Huffed,
Instinctively Innocent,
Joyously Jimp,
Kindly, Keen-witted,
Luringly Limp,
Mentally Masterful,
Naturally Neat,
Often Obliging,
Polite and Petite,
Quietly Quiescent,
Radiantly Right,
Sweetly Successful,
Tellingly Trite,
Usually Unruffled,
Votes to Invite,
Wheedlesome Wisdom,
Xactly Xpressed,
Youthful in Yearning,
Zealous in Zest.

—CAROLYN WELLS in *Life.*

It is the general rule that all superior men inherit the elements of superiority from their mothers. —MICHELET.

"Woman is Not a Person."

High court refuses female lawyer's appeal to practise.—*The Sun.*

"Woman is not a person," eh?
That is a pretty thing to say!
In view of this decision crass
We well may cry, "The law's an ass!"
Sure everybody should confess
That 'tis the more contains the less.
If woman's not a person, sage,
She's more—she is a personage!

G. B. M.

An association in favor of suffrage lately passed a number of resolutions stating that they were *"fighting"* for the right to improve their homes, they were *"fighting"* to arouse the nation to its duty to children, they were *"fighting"* for the education of young men as fathers, they were *"fighting"* for the training of girls as mothers and home-makers, they were *"fighting"*—well, they were *"fighting"*—and most of the things they were *"fighting"* for are entirely in their own hands already.

Although the lesson of the French Revolution was extremely categorical, many impractical spirits, hallucinated by their dreams, are hoping to recommence it. Socialism, the modern synthesis of this hope, would be a regression to lower forms of evolution, for it would paralyze the greatest sources of our activity. By replacing individual initiative and responsibility by collective initiative and responsibility man would descend several steps on the scale of human values. GUSTAV LE BON.

Elizabeth Robbins (suffragist) looks forward to the time when all lives of women will be written by women. (May we assume that all lives of men will also be limited to men?) This time, however, has not yet arrived, as the life of Octavia Hill recently published is by Edmund Maurice, and Sir Edward Cook, in spite of the selfish desire of his sex to withold all justice from women, has published two large volumes devoted to the study of Florence Nightingale, the founder of trained nursing. No man has so far, however, asked to write the life of a feminist. They probably feel that they are totally inadequate to satisfy feminist requirements in the matter of uncritical adulation, and so prefer to leave it to a satellite.

—J. T. W.

"Wilt thou seal up the avenues of ill?
Pay every debt, as if God wrote the bill."

—EMERSON.

When Suffragists bring grievances to light, the grievances are reformed, but votes for women are again proved to be unnecessary.

(From Magazine Review of *New York Evening Sun*, February 26.)

The Century

George Creel, sometime Police Commissioner in Denver, undertakes to answer the question: "What Have Women Done With the Vote?" It is on the answer, as he remarks, that the future of woman suffrage depends, for, according to the general opinion, "it is for man to say whether woman shall have the vote, and as a consequence man views the ballot not as a right that he must give, but as a privilege that he is at liberty to confer or withhold." He reviews the legislation of several states that have equal suffrage with regard especially to "women's laws," *i. e.*, measures originated by women, introduced by women legislators, or at least approved and lobbied for by women's organizations. He makes it clear that a great many laws have actually been passed in the interest of women and children and that in this way the equal suffrage states have been much more active than most of the others. His analysis is, however, quantitative rather than qualitative. The wisdom of some of the legislation is by no means unquestionable, but this is a point he does not enter into very deeply.

Men are what their mothers made them. You may as well ask a loom which weaves hackaback why it does not make cashmere as expect poetry from this engineer or a chemical discovery from that jobber.

—EMERSON.

Sir Thomas Barlow's letter to *The Times* (November 15th), stating on the authority of the Home Office that there have been only three cases of forcible feeding since April, will have proved quite an unpleasant surprise to suffragist sensation mongers.—*The Anti-Suffrage Review*, London, December, 1913.

The Suffragists are a bit like the old lady who, though she had a hole in the door to let the cat in, wanted to cut another to let in the kitten! England has attempted to make a small refined entrance for a few high-born kittens. But "No," say the Suffragists, "All the kittens! All the time!"

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